

Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 ISLAMA 04065 01 OF 02 261143Z
ACTION SS-25

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 SSO-00 /026 W
-----057184 261154Z /23/

O R 251106Z APR 78
FM AMEMBASSY ISLAMABAD
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 6871
INFO AMEMBASSY PARIS
AMEMBASSY TEHRAN

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 ISLAMABAD 4065

EXDIS

C O R R E C T E D C O P Y (TEXT CORRECTED PARA 5. (C))

E.O. 11652: XGDS-3
TAGS: MNUC MASS ENRG EAID FR PK IR
SUBJECT: PAKISTAN REPROCESSING ISSUE

REF: (A) STATE 101528 (B) PARIS 13004 (C) PARIS 11907
(D) STATE 091983

1. I AGREE WITH THE PROPOSAL IN REFTEL (A) TO PLAN IN ADVANCE OF
A FRENCH DECISION HOW WE TOGETHER WOULD HANDLE THE PAKISTANIS IF
THAT DECISION GOES THE WAY WE WANT IT TO GO,(18.E., IN FRENCH
CANCELLATION OF THE REPROCESSING PLANT CONTRACT. I AGREE ALSO
WITH REFTEL (B) THAT ENGAGING THE FRENCH IN THIS PLANNING BEFORE
THEIR DECISION MAY BE SALUTARY IN PERSUADING THE FRENCH TO
CANCEL.

2. OUR AIM WITH REGARD TO PAKISTAN REMAINS TWO-FOLD:

A. IN THE LONGER RUN, WE WANT TO ENSURE THAT THE PAKS DO NOT
GO FORWARD WITH THE PLANT, EITHER WITH THE FRENCH, OR ON THEIR
OWN (IF THE FRENCH ARE RIGHT), OR WITH SOME OTHER COLLABORATOR.
WE ARE NOT SIMPLY TRYING TO MAKE NUCLEAR WEAPONS PRODUCTION
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MORE DIFFICULT FOR PAKISTAN; WE ARE ATTEMPTING TO DENY THEM THE
OPTION.

B. IN THE NEARER TERM WE WANT TO FORESTALL ANY PUBLIC
ANNOUNCEMENT BY THE GOP THAT THEY INTEND TO GO IT ALONE -- A
CLAIM THAT WOULD GREATLY COMPLICATE US-PAK RELATIONS AND WHICH IT
WOULD BE DIFFICULT FOR THE GOP TO BACK AWAY FROM LATER ON.

3. FRENCH AND U.S. APPROACHES TO THE PAKS SHOULD BE SEPARATE BUT COORDINATED; THIS WILL INVOLVE NOT ONLY DISCUSSION OF THE CONTENT OF OUR APPROACHES BUT WILL ALSO REQUIRE THAT WE KNOW THE TIMING OF THE FRENCH NOTIFICATION OF THE GOP SO THAT WE CAN MOVE QUICKLY TO TRY TO FORESTALL A RANCOROUS AND TROUBLESOME GOP REACTION.

4. WE MUST AVOID PROMISING, EVEN IMPLICITLY, MORE THAN WE KNOW WE CAN DELIVER; WE ALSO HAVE TO AVOID ASSIGNING A HIGHER VALUE TO US ASSISTANCE THAN THE PAKSVHMESELVES MAY ASSIGN TO IT.

5. IT WOULD BE USEFUL TO HAVE A SET OF TALKING POINTS AGREED WITH THE FRENCH THAT I COULD MAKE TO GEN. ZIA WHEN -- AND IF -- THE TIME COMES. I ASSUME THAT THE FRENCH WOULD FIRST NOTIFY GEN. ZIA OF THE CANCELLATION, PROBABLY OFFERING OTHER COOPERATION ON A NEW POWER REACTOR, INTER ALIA. MY TALKING POINTS COULD INCLUDE THE FOLLOWING:

A. WE UNDERSTAND THAT WE NO LONGER NEED TO BE CONCERNED THAT THE SANCTIONS OF THE GLENN AMENDMENT MAY HAVE TO BE APPLIED.

B. WE LOOK FORWARD TO THE RESUMPTION OF A MUCH CLOSER RELATIONSHIP; FOR OUR PART WE ARE PREPARED:

-- TO MOVE QUICKLY TO OBLIGATE THE REMAINING \$40-45 MILLION IN LAST YEAR'S AID PROGRAM; AND FURTHER AMOUNTS AVAILABLE IN THE SECRET

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CURRENT FY.

-- TO MOVE WITH DESPATCH TO STEP UP PLANNING FOR THE UTILIZATION OF THE NEARLY \$100 MILLION IN NEXT YEAR'S PROGRAM.
-- TO CONSIDER ADDITIONAL PL-480 AGREEMENTS;
-- TO DISCUSS WITH PAKISTAN AND TO CONSIDER SYMPATHETICALLY ITS REQUESTS FOR SPECIFIC ITEMS OF MILITARY EQUIPMENT SALES TO MEET PAKISTAN'S LEGITIMATE DEFENSE REQUIREMENTS IN SUCH AREAS AS SHIPS AND MODERN AIRCRAFT;
-- TO CONTINUE THE IMET PROGRAM, INCLUDING A MODEST EXPANSION OF THE PROGRAM TO MATCH AT LEAST THE COST OF INFLATION;
-- TO DISCUSS FURTHER WITH THE GOP SECURITY ASSURANCES FOR NON-NUCLEAR WEAPONS STATES; AND,
-- TO EXPAND OUR DIALOGUE WITH THE GOP TO EXAMINE AREAS IN WHICH PAKISTAN WISHES TO EXPAND OJ

C. OUR ABILITY TO CONSIDER ALL OF THESE MATTERS AND TO TAKE POSITIVE STEPS TO IMPROVE OUR BILATERAL COOPERATION AND OUR OVERALL RELATIONSHIP IS CONTINGENT, OF COURSE, ON PAKISTAN'S WILLINGNESS TO ACCEPT THE FRENCH DECISION AND TO ESCHEW FURTHER PLANS TO DEVELOP, IN PAKISTAN, ANY NUCLEAR REPROCESSING CAPABILITY.

6. AN ADDITIONAL POINT FOR THIS PACKAGE, REQUIRING COORDINATION WITH THE FRENCH, WOULD BE THE DEVELOPMENT OF SOME ALTERNATIVE PROPOSALS TO DEMONSTRATE THAT WE ARE PREPARED TO ASSIST PAKISTAN TO MEET LEGITIMATE REQUIREMENTS IN THE ENERGY AND NUCLEAR TECHNOLOGY FIELDS SO THAT THEIR COOPERATION WITH US ON NUCLEAR NON-PROLIFERATION WOULD NOT DISADVANTAGE THEM IN TERMS OF BENEFITS OF NUCLEAR TECHNOLOGY DEVOTED TO PEACEFUL PURPOSES.

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7. IN OUR DEALINGS WITH THE FRENCH, MOREOVER, WE WOULD NEED TO BE AS SYMPATHETIC AS POSSIBLE TO SOME OF THEIR COMMERCIAL INTERESTS HERE. WE MAY NOT BE ABLE TO GO SO FAR AS TO HELP THEM ON THE SAVIEM TRUCK AND AIRBUS A-300 DEALS WHICH THE PAKS HAVE STRONGLY HINTED WILL BE CASUALTIES OF ANY FRENCH DECISION TO CANCEL THE REPROCESSING CONTRACT. WHATEVER ASSURANCES WE MIGHT OFFER, FOR INSTANCE, THAT WE WOULD NOT SEEK TO TAKE ADVANTAGE OF POTENTIAL OPPORTUNITIES THESE AREAS COULD PROVIDE FOR AMERICAN PRODUCTS WOULD BE EXTREMELY DIFFICULT FOR THE USG TO IMPLEMENT -- ESPECIALLY IN THE AIRCRAFT FIELD -- AND THE FRENCH KNOW THIS. MORE USEFUL IN PERSUADING THE FRENCH TO DESIST ON THE REPROCESSING CONTRACT WOULD BE ASSURANCES OF US SUPPORT FOR AN EXPANDED PROGRAM OF FRENCH REACTOR SALES TO PAKISTAN; WE COULD ALSO OFFER TO HELP FRANCE FIND FINANCING, EITHER FROM USG SOURCES OR FROM OPEC SOURCES SUCH AS SAUDI ARABIA OR IRAN.

8. I NOTE THAT SOME CABLES IN THIS EXCHANGE HAVE BEEN REPEATED TO TEHRAN WHILE OTHERS HAVE NOT. I WOULD SUGGEST THAT THE RECENT CABLES BE REPEATED TO BILL SULLIVAN SO HE CAN COMMENT ON WHAT ROLE THE SHAH MIGHT BE PERSUADED TO PLAY (AND AT WHAT TIME) DURING THE UNFOLDING OF THE ABOVE SCENARIO.

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